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ABSTRACT

Several social-psychological and cultural variables such as husband-wife interaction patterns, level of aspirations, time-orientation, degree of traditionalism/cosmopolitanism and perceptual outlook--all known to be correlates of family planning acceptance and family size norms--are examined in this study of a Filipino enclave in Waialua, Oahu, Hawaii. The study used unobtrusive and unstructured methods of observation, and suggests hypotheses for future family planning research. Background information on migration and adjustment patterns, vital statistics and other demographic data is included. Many of the characteristics of the "subculture of peasantry" are found to exist in this small plantation community. Appendices include statistical information on the Filipino population of Hawaii as well as excerpts from a follow-up study to the paper presented here. References are also included. (Author)

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Florangel Z. Rosario

EXPLORATORY OBSERVATIONS ON FAMILY INTERACTION PATTERNS AND FAMILY PLANNING IN THE FILIPINO COMMUNITY OF WAIALUA, HAWAII

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I. INTRODUCTION

The Problem and Methodology

This exploratory study was designed to seek information on interaction patterns in the Filipino family as it related to decision-making on family size and family planning. The investigator undertook a one-month participant-observation study of a Filipino community in Waialua, Oahu, and interviewed a sample group of 25 Filipino couples, 22 women within the child-bearing age, and 18 community leaders who provided answers to questions on family and community life and structure. The focus of this study was on the immigrant group--those who came in the early 1900's and the later wave of migration which came in the 1950's and 1960's. Residence at the home of a plantation worker and his family, attendance and participation in community events such as club meetings, weddings, baptisms, school plays, etc., provided further information on communication and adjustment patterns, value systems, and life styles of Filipinos in Waialua.

Data for this study were collected primarily by the use of unstructured interviews in which free association was encouraged among respondents and qualitative observations were made. A rationale for this method is given by Ruesch and Kees (1969) who suggest that in the study of human communication, on-the-spot observations and a method of "evaluation as you go" are, perhaps more relevant than scientific hindsight. Cicourel (1967) also notes the importance of the common sense, expected background features of everyday life which are suggested to be a more useful method in yielding insights on attitudes.

Most of the observations have focused on variables such as perception, adjustment and communication patterns, and level of aspirations. Census reports, school yearbooks, newspaper articles, papers and books on the Filipinos in Hawaii have provided background information for the study.

Purposes

The purposes of this study were (1) to investigate the importance of the husband-wife dyad in interaction as a unit of analysis; (2) to provide additional data on the social and demographic characteristics of the Filipino population in Waialua; (3) to assess the belief that there are areas in Hawaii which resemble communities in the old home country in life styles, attitudes and family interaction patterns; and (4) to test the usefulness of this data-gathering technique in eliciting the type of information contained in this study.

The study is preliminary and its purpose was to establish assumptions and hypotheses for future studies.

II. THE POPULATION

Waialua is a community located 31 miles north of Honolulu and has a population of 3,975[1]. Of this total population, the Filipino group comprises about 70 percent. In addition to the old and new immigrants, this group includes second and third generation

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[1]From the State of Hawaii's Department of Planning and Economic Development Report, 1970.

Filipinos who were born in Hawaii but are of distinctly Filipino stock. Of the 70 percent, about half work for the local sugar plantation. A report on the educational background of 200 new immigrants who recently joined the sugar plantation (Battad, 1970) indicates that 30 of them have had college training.

Thus, the social and economic life revolves around the sugar plantation. Pineapple is another principal product. One is always greeted by the sight of rows of pineapple alongside the winding road. Waialua is not within easy commuting distance to the city; driving distance from Honolulu is about 45 minutes, and this may explain why the settlement is nearly self-contained. Except for a monthly shopping trip to Honolulu, the activities of a majority of the town people are confined to the immediate area including Wahiawa, Haleiwa, and Waipahu. As a research locale, it comes close to being ideal: it is relatively uncontaminated by the sophistication of city life and one can find pockets of old Philippine village culture in the way the people celebrate social and religious events. Waialua can therefore be described as a relatively isolated community where interdependence is a way of life.

III. ASPIRATIONS

Most of the early Filipino migrants (those who came in the early 1900's) came with the expectation of returning to the Philippines after a few years. This lack of permanency has been used to explain why they did not make much progress during those

early years. It appears that for most immigrants the primary goal was to build a nest egg and return to their country as soon as possible.

Most of the early immigrants were laborers who were recruited for sugar and pineapple plantations and they had come without their families. Although a number of the single men eventually married women belonging to other ethnic groups, a majority of them still expressed preference for Filipino women. The primary ambition was to save money in order to be able to "order" a wife from the "old country" and for the married ones, to be able to have their families join them. For those who have settled here long enough and have become economically self-sufficient, the primary ambition was to save money in order to be able to retire in the homeland or at least make regular visits. The relatively successful ones show their link by means of financial contributions to the old hometown (like helping build local ["puericulture"] health centers.)

The new wave of immigrants who came after 1946 are seen as having less uncertainty about making Hawaii their permanent home. Most of them had come from Bacarra, Ilocos Norte. Because the Ilocanos have a reputation for being hardworking, recruitment has been primarily concentrated within this area.

Community Life

A propensity to join associations and group activities is shown by the number of organizations (there are 52 at present

and include civic, social, religious and educational clubs) which have been established as avenues for social interaction, as a means of social security, and the perpetuation of cultural traditions. Some of the more active ones are the Bacarra Residents' Association which runs a mutual aid program, the Filipino Association, the Filipino Catholic Women's Club, and other regional organizations.

It is interesting to note that this marked interest in joining community associations seems to contrast with the observations of Lewis (1971) who had studied the Bacarra community in the Philippines and who noted the "lack of a cohesive village life among the Ilocanos". He explains this as being due to the problems of overcrowding and the lack of occupational opportunities so that the people did not feel highly motivated to settle down and join community associations.

The Ilocano in Waialua having access to far more attractive labor market conditions is seen as very hardworking and it is not unusual to find some of them taking on one full-time job and several part-time jobs.

IV. PATTERNS OF ADJUSTMENT

It is often said of the new immigrant that the first thing he does upon setting foot in Hawaii is to plant "kalamunggay". This vegetable is an edible tree-fern which is a favorite among Ilocanos and has become a local symbol of national identity. Then he plants fruit trees in the frontyard and starts cultivating a

vegetable garden in the back yard. Lacy curtains, a living room cluttered with memorabilia (pictures of family weddings, baptisms, graduation certificates, wood carvings, and the like), and shiny, uncarpeted floors are identifying clues that one is entering a Filipino home.

An average Filipino home normally has a spacious living room where the family gathers with friends and relatives during evenings or weekends. Because of the lack of this spatial arrangement in most of the Waialua homes (most homes were built by the sugar plantation and the others are rented units), the yard has often been converted as a substitute for this type of social gathering. There is also the prevailing hospitality to the stranger ("Come in and make yourself at home") which equates with the Hawaiian "aloha" spirit.

A clustering of Filipino homes in at least three blocks is clearly discernible. One is located among a mixed group of Portuguese and Japanese families where Filipinos belonging to supervisory positions live. Another is situated within a middle-income group of plantation workers just below the supervisory level. The rest live in a poorer section near the mill. It might be worthwhile to do a comparative study of the level of adjustment and acculturation of Filipinos living in ghetto sections with those

who live in racially mixed areas, to test assumptions of previous researchers.[2]

Other manifestations of this desire to establish identity are seen in the way many families cling to old customs and traditions which are fast disappearing in the old homeland. Many of the rituals and forms of entertainment are shown during weddings and "fiestas" (feasts to celebrate days of patron saints) such as the "Santacruzan", the wedding dance, cockfighting (despite the fact that this sport is illegal in Hawaii), and other social and religious events.

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[2]Lind (1969, p. 106) cites studies which show that the immigrants who lived in ethnically segregated areas were less subject to the traumas of urban life than their contemporaries who lived in the contiguous slums outside the racial ghetto, thus confirming Park et al's (1925) proposition that "it is the immigrants who have maintained in this country their simple village religions and mutual aid organizations who have been most able to withstand the shock of the new environment." Lind (1969) also noted that as a result of the paternalistic labor policy where the plantation had to provide housing for their workers, a system of separate racial settlements or "camps" was employed since this seemed most satisfactory to the workers and provided the best means of labor control. This arrangement is believed to have enabled the immigrants, in their encounter with a strange environment, to derive comfort and consolation from the presence of others speaking the same language and observing familiar customs and traditions. As he explains:

> The fact that people know and gossip about one another within a common set of moral expectations and that they also feel obligated to support one another in times of crises, gives to the life of the ghetto resident a firmness of direction and stability that is scarcely possible elsewhere in the impersonal urban setting.

Glazer and Moynihan (1963) also suggest that the ethnic group is something of an extended family or tribe. As they say, "in addition to the links of interest, family and fellowfeeling bind the ethnic group. There is satisfaction in being with those who are like yourself."

There is the perennial conflict between generations in regard to dating behavior and observance of age-old family customs. As one local-born Filipina said, "my family would allow me to date a 'haole'[3] but not to marry one."

There is therefore a tendency for the Filipino immigrant to "overdo" some of the practices which are distinctly Filipino. A respondent said this was one way of developing a sense of historical heritage. In fact, this tendency to emphasize celebration of fiestas and other social-religious events may be an indication that the Ilocano immigrant has finally settled in a place he can call home.

Life in the Sugar Plantation

The Waialua Sugar Plantation Work Force in 1970 shows that 327 or 54 percent of the total work force consists of Filipinos. Three hundred seven or 66 percent belong to the union bargaining unit and 20, or 14 percent, belong to the salaried or supervisory group. The average age of employees is 47.4 years; the average education is 7.4 years. The average pay rate per hour for the labor force ranges from $2.40 (Grade 1) to $4.04 (Grade 11). With overtime pay, the average laborer may be able to earn an average monthly salary of $550.

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[3] A Caucasian in Hawaii.

The term "plantation mentality" is used to describe the cognitive, attitudinal, and behavioral characteristics of the average worker. This may be a coping mechanism adopted by the worker in order to be able to adjust to existing conditions beyond his control (such as the inability to actualize his full potential in his present job) so that he may manifest passive acceptance of existing conditions, or on the other hand, he may adopt a servile attitude toward superiors in order to curry the latter's favor. The paternalistic atmosphere in which he finds himself provides security he never had before. It must be remembered that most of the immigrants came to Hawaii because of lack of employment opportunities in the home country. The Sugar Plantation provides many fringe benefits such as housing, free transportation to and from work, and low-cost medical and dental care for the worker and his family. In addition, retirement and sick benefit plans are provided for all employees. It is estimated that every employee gets an average fringe benefit of a dollar per hour. Several have been able to purchase homes under the plantation's Home Ownership program. The rest are provided houses at reasonable rental costs. A clubhouse with recreational facilities and a hall for social events such as weddings and holiday programs are made available to employees and their families.

The occupational opportunities and living conditions are not the best in comparison with alternatives that may be open to plantation workers elsewhere in the island but the Filipino has seen worse times. It is, therefore, understandable why the world

outside--with its risk and uncertainty--may not be as appealing as the secure atmosphere of plantation life.

V. COMMUNICATION PATTERNS AND FAMILY PLANNING ACCEPTANCE

Assumptions

The study examined husband-wife interaction patterns as they relate to decision-making on family size and family planning. Two assumptions on dyad interaction served as guidelines in the observation process:

1) Where the wife shares equal responsibility in decision-making, there is a greater propensity to accept family planning and better consensus on family size;
2) Where there is an open and freer flow of communication between husband and wife, there is also better consensus and agreement on family size and family planning.

Another assumption is the belief that often there is a discrepancy between what is verbally expressed and one's true stand on the matter. In eliciting responses to certain questions, the interviewer tried to examine a verbal statement within the context of the communicative act, i.e., in both the nonverbal and social context.

The use of participant observation techniques and unobtrusive measures[4] helped in the discovery of certain

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[4] See Webb et al, 1966, for a description and discussion of this kind of methodology.

explanations for behavior patterns and decision-making within the family.

Although no measures to test personality characteristics (such as dogmatism vs. flexibility, empathy, modernism of outlook, etc.) were used, some observations on correlates of these characteristics have been revealed and may serve as indicators of the propensity to accept family planning.

Patterns of Interaction

In the Filipino community in Waialua, the wife shares equal decision-making power with the husband although there is inadequate discussion of issues such as family size or family planning. What one says and how one behaves appear to be structured by group norms. In social gatherings, men tend to group among themselves and the same pattern is also evident among the women. Equalitarianism is, therefore, an offshoot of group-imposed values such as high regard given to women (so much so that the Filipino society has been popularly described as a "matriarchal" society).

Among lower classes, the assignment of rigid roles among sexes appears to be a common practice. The husband may openly socialize with friends of both sexes but the wife is allowed to socialize only with those of the same sex. Middle-class values are changing in this regard, although a double standard in sexual conduct still exists. The husband is, therefore, allowed (and in some cases, encouraged) to have extramarital relations while the wife is ostracized if found to engage in illicit relations.

Even among married couples, the indirect form of discourse[5] is very much evident. Much of the social life is carried out in a group situation--among relatives within the extended family system or with friends and neighbors, which in some cases may include almost half of the community's population. Social gatherings--weddings, baptisms, or "fiestas"--are festive occasions where the host is expected to entertain guests with sumptuous displays of native delicacies and musical entertainment provided by several bands and dancers and singers invited to perform for the occasion. Thus, guests become passive spectators instead of active participants in a social setting where very little verbal exchange occurs. The author attended a local wedding held at the Sugar Plantation Hall where most of the old practices were observed, such as:

> The attendance of about 1,000 guests with three bands engaged for the occasion. The celebration started with drinking and partaking of the lavish feast spread out on several tables. After dinner, the band played the wedding dance; relatives of both husband and wife participated by throwing gifts of cash while the couple danced with a large coin between their lips.

Other occasions where the couple or family may find themselves are also group situations--association meetings, weekend picnics at the beaches, etc.--which do not encourage face-to-face interaction between spouses. Many of the older men are known to

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[5]For example, euphemisms and subtleties are used and the tendency is to avoid direct confrontation.

spend weekends at cockfights while the women stay at home. The separation of the sexes in a favorite weekend sport may also explain the lack of communication between husband and wife.

As the wife of a retired plantation laborer explains:

> Your "tata" (an older person) goes to the "miting" (cockfights) every Sunday. I don't give him any money but he goes just the same. He's always losing. I don't know where he gets the money for the bets.

The above also illustrates that, among the first-generation immigrants, the wife always holds the purse strings. This custom still prevails among many of the younger Filipinos except where the husband is from another racial or ethnic group.

These modes of social interaction are carried over into the family situation where roles are rigidly defined. The husband usually socializes with the male guests, and the wife with the women. This observation is similar to that of the ECAFE Conference Report (1968) on husband-wife communication which states:

> Traditionally, the wife may talk to her husband about day-to-day household matters but not on something as personal as the number of children it would be advisable to have.... In traditional societies, youth learn to communicate in primary groups of the same age and sex. There is usually little opportunity for courtship before sexes of the same age. This early learning, in addition to the traditional prohibitions regarding a young husband and wife talking together in front of elders, makes effective husband-wife communication difficult.

Most families place a high value on modesty among women. Women are not expected to talk about matters relating to sex and family size openly and not even with their own husbands. This

finding is similar to the observations made by Hill et al. (1959) in their study of interaction patterns among lower-class Puerto Rican families.

The Filipino family, like many family structures in Hawaii, is quite authoritarian in the sense that parents make most of the decisions and little opportunity is given the children to participate. A high value is placed upon maintaining smooth interpersonal relations; subsequently, there is very little opportunity for discussion, conflict, and other by-products of interaction.

Another factor which may have reinforced the lack of communication between husband and wife is the existence of different work shifts. Because the wife often works in order to augment the family income (either as nurse aide, secretary, pineapple picker or on various odd jobs), there is very little opportunity for the couple to get together except on weekends.

An additional factor which may explain poor communication among spouses is the substantial age difference found in many of the couples interviewed. There are in this group several young wives in their early twenties who have married men in their fifties. One remarked that she and her husband like to do different things. She likes parties, movies, and going out with friends but her husband does not seem to enjoy these things. Except for household matters, the couple rarely talks about anything else.

In cultures where there is ample opportunity for husband and wife to interact, couples are known to have developed what has been described as a "private language". The couple may find themselves in a group but are able to communicate nonverbally by means of private cues to which each has been sensitized as a result of frequent interaction. The absence of a "private" language among most Filipino couples has been noted.

VI. OTHER SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION

The low birth rate among the early Filipino immigrants may be explained by the fact that most of the men who came during the period of early migration came without their families. Many were single and did not marry until a late age. State records of 1929 indicate that the Filipino infant mortality rate was 296 as compared to an average of 73 for other ethnic groups (Schmitt, 1968). The high infant mortality rate is presumed to have been caused by severe poverty and its correlates. Appendix A shows that the birth rate has increased from 19.7 in 1940 to 33.8 in 1966. The death rate has shown an appreciable decline--from 19 per 1,000 in 1940 to 8.6 in 1966. (See Appendix A for more demographic data on the Filipino population in Hawaii.)

The wave of Filipino immigration after 1946, however, indicates a different pattern of composition by sex, age, and marital status. Most of the new immigrants came with their families. Improved standards of living and nutrition had considerably

reduced the infant mortality rate. An interesting hypothesis suggested by McClelland (in Pye, 1963, p. 162) states that "high n affiliation (affiliation-orientation) countries manifest less decline in the birth rate when infant mortality is low". High birth rate is therefore the expected outcome of low infant mortality. The extent to which this hypothesis applies to the Filipino community (which is known to have high "affiliation need") should be an interesting question for future study.[6]

In comparison with other areas in Oahu where Filipinos have settled down (like Kalihi and Waipahu), the Waialua community shows a relatively slow acculturation process. This may be explained by the presence of a reference group which provides social support for one's behavior. Those who live in Filipino camps usually continue to maintain their old life styles since they live among their own people.

The implication of the above on family planning acceptance is that it may be a little difficult to reach this group of people. It has been assumed that people belonging to the Catholic faith (and a majority of the Filipinos are Catholic), may not be as receptive to family planning. However, this may not be a correct assumption if one were to apply findings on family planning acceptance in several Catholic countries. A generaliza-

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[6]Affiliation-orientation describes the society where the people feel the need to be "close together", to maintain family connections and mutual support.

tion which can be extrapolated from these studies is that among lower-class Catholics, religion is not a significant reason for rejecting family planning. Also, in the light of the observation made by Mr. Rosa, lay principal of St. Michael's Catholic School in Waialua, religion may not be a very significant force. Rosa believes that many Filipinos in Waialua are alienated from the church. The use of a language that many of them do not understand may have partly caused this apathy, he said.

The younger ones (between 18-30 years old) are more aware of the implications of a large family and think of using birth control measures after the third or fourth child. The preferred size is usually three or four. The younger women do not show any reluctance in discussing family planning and believe that many of their friends are doing something about limiting family size. The importance of social support reinforces findings from previous studies (Freedman, 1962, Freedman & Takeshita, 1965, Palmore & Freedman, 1969) regarding the significance of knowing how potential users perceive attitudes of members of their reference groups. As studies have shown, most potential adopters accept the idea only after being convinced that their friends are also in favor of it. The oral pill is the most popular contraceptive in Waialua, even if many are aware of its negative effects. Dr. Battista, the plantation medical director, believes that rhythm appears to be more acceptable but it has not been very successfully used. He also notes that a majority are naive about reproductive physiology and are not aware of the availability of

birth control methods.[7] Even if they were aware of them, excessive modesty oftentimes prevents them from seeing a medical officer. A wife of a plantation worker also remarked, when asked if she and her husband had thought of practicing birth control: "My husband cannot think of any advantages. He says, why plan when we have free maternity benefits?" This inability to look beyond the implications of present actions is characteristic of many of the less educated immigrants. An assumption which has been reinforced during the course of the study was that the use of birth control information is passed on by word-of-mouth among satisfied users and that this network of interaction is found among peers, usually living within the same neighborhood. Interviews with two "hilots" (women folk midwives) also indicated that many women come to see these midwives for prenatal and postnatal care and her advice is usually sought on matters such as family planning and family size. The "hilot" is usually advanced in age and her expertise extends to such tasks as massaging sore muscles and treating minor ailments.

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[7] It was not until April, 1971, that formally organized free family planning services were offered to the public by the Waialua Hospital. Between the opening date and June 16, 1971, there had been 54 acceptors--five were Filipinos, three Samoans, two Japanese, and the remainder (the great majority) were Caucasians. The attendance pattern seemed to be following the "S curve" of adoption, with a rising trend towards the end of the period. According to officials of the new clinic, the pill was the most favored method, the IUD next, then foam, and last the condom. Most acceptors appeared to have received their information about the availability of the services (every first and third Wednesday of the month) from notices in local supermarkets, but others heard through mothers' clubs and community organizations. The majority of the acceptors were from the local area.

Since she is acknowledged as an "influential", her services may be utilized as a motivator or a link between family planning personnel and the potential user.

The "Subculture of Peasantry"

Rogers (1969, pp. 24-38) advances an interesting hypothesis for intercultural communication when he suggests that it might be more meaningful to study culture by looking at the similarities found among peasants everywhere. By synthesizing findings from cross-cultural research, he arrived at ten elements which characterize this subculture, namely, (1) mutual distrust in interpersonal relations, (2) perceived limited good (that good things exist in limited amount), (3) dependence on and hostility toward government authority, (4) familism, (5) lack of innovativeness, (6) fatalism, (7) limited aspirations, (8) lack of deferred gratification, (9) limited view of the world, and (10) low empathy.

These characteristics are further explained by Rogers who argues that mutual distrust of one's peasant associates leads to greater dependence on the members of one's family; or that strong kinship ties may help the family to stand together against others outside the extended family group. Limited exposure to other ways of life and extreme social-psychological distance between peasants and elite urbanites also make it difficult for villagers to imagine themselves in modern roles such as those depicted in the mass media.

Many of the elements of the subculture described by Rogers seem to apply to the plantation community in Waialua. Likewise, Lewis cites some of the characteristics of the "culture of poverty" which may apply to the same population. Lewis cites characteristics such as:

> ...the disengagement, the nonintegration with respect to the major institutions of society. The people produce little wealth and receive little in return.... There is mistrust of government and of those in high positions, and a cynicism that extends to the church.... There is a present-time orientation.... (in Hardin, 1969, p. 138)

Mr. Rey Sarmiento, a Filipino radio commentator and civic leader from Waialua, also made these comments during an interview:

> Filipinos make money but allow it to go down the drain. Goods are bought in stores controlled by Chinese, Japanese or American enterprises; banking institutions are also operated by the latter. However, many industries and almost the entire blood-stream of Hawaiian economic life is dependent on Filipino labor. Sugar mills, pineapple plantations, hospitals, etc., are all manned by a majority of Filipinos. The operation of these enterprises can be easily paralyzed should the Filipinos go on strike.

He made further observations such as the inability of many Filipino laborers to assert themselves, the tendency for many to avoid much interpersonal contact with other ethnic groups, and the presence of many Filipinos who are professionally trained in low-paying, unskilled jobs.

Because the Filipinos are second to the last ethnic group to migrate (the Samoans came last), they find themselves rather low in Hawaii's pecking order.

The small proportion of Filipinos in the professions may be explained by the fact that the earlier waves of migration brought in labor manpower for sugar and pineapple plantations. (Later migration patterns indicate the presence of more professionals in the group.) This may also be partly explained by the fact that the earlier immigrants had shown the tendency to encourage their children to take employment as early as possible in order to assist in the family support.[8] Either this pattern still continues or there is a prevailing low level of aspirations among this ethnic group, for a cursory look at surveys and other documents indicates that a high achievement motivation does not seem to exist among Filipino students.

In a 1970 survey of attendance at the University of Hawaii by race, the Filipino ethnic group comprised only 2.2 percent of the total college student population on the Manoa Campus. The Filipino population in Oahu as a whole comprises 8 percent of the total population. Either many students attend mainland universities or many of them drop out after high school. Graduation yearbooks in the early 60's also indicated the popularity of nonprofessional occupations such as "mechanic", "radio technician", "secretary", "hairdresser", etc., among Filipino high

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[8]This was also noted by Lind (1967) who found a low rate of noncompulsory school attendance of the Japanese and the Filipinos as early as 1910. Following statehood, it was found that among Filipinos between 25-34 years of age, the median school years completed was 11.3 years among men and 11.6 years among women (1960 Census Bulletin).

school graduates in Waialua. This observation was reinforced by interviews made with several families where it became clearly evident that many families were present-oriented and are not able to see the long-range benefits of college training versus the opportunities of earning money in some nonprofessional job.[9]

The Filipinos can be described as being more "affiliation-oriented" than "achievement-oriented", and more interested in maintaining smooth interpersonal relations than in accumulating personal gain. Being a closely knit family group, the extended family system shows close familial relationships even among third and fourth cousins or uncles even if the members do not live together in the same residential area. Being distrustful of government aid, they do not easily avail themselves of the many free benefits of various government and welfare programs.[10]

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[9]In a study of achievement motivation among a group of Filipino high school students in Hawaii, Kubany et al (1970) suggest that the cultural continuities which they found existing among Filipinos in the home country and in the Hawaii sample may be due to the relative isolation of the latter in a plantation community. The authors tested the hypothesis that the "Western concept of intrinsic motivation may be irrelevant among cultures which attach significance to group acceptance" on a group of Filipino high school students in Oahu. Pretask instructions implied that striving to do well was highly desirable and, as predicted, students who knew they were being supervised showed more achievement-oriented behavior than those who were performing the task in anonymous privacy. How the Filipino group would view higher education and other high-achievement tasks would therefore depend on group approval of the goals rather than on intrinsic motivation.

[10]This observation was reinforced by social service workers in the Department of Social Service, State of Hawaii, at a seminar on "Intercultural Communication", held in May, 1970, where the author served as a resource speaker.

Gallimore and Howard (1969), in their study of Nanakuli, a Hawaiian community in Oahu, have shown the same pattern of "affiliation-orientation", "mutual reciprocity", desire to maintain smooth interpersonal relationships, distrust of government and public offices, high familism, and sensitivity existing among Hawaiians.

Scholars of Filipino culture (Lynch, 1964; Bulatao, 1964; etc.) have labelled the mutual reciprocal relationship known to prevail among most Filipinos as "utang na loob". The more powerful member of the group acts as "go-between" or intermediary on behalf of a prospective job-seeker. The team spirit, described as "bayanihan", is known to prevail in almost every Filipino community. Everyone is expected to come to the aid of another--whether in building a house, preparing for a wedding feast, or similar events. Several observations reinforced the existence of similar values among the Filipinos in Waialua.

VII. DISCUSSION

As the preliminary findings indicate, the Filipinos in Waialua show many patterns found among traditional Filipinos in the old homeland. However, one discernible difference is the immigrant's propensity to join community organizations. This desire to establish a community life has been explained as an indication that the Filipino has finally settled down. This is in contrast with the Ilocano back in the home country who often has very little interest in village life and has always wanted to

migrate some place where he could eke out a better means of livelihood. The investigator looks at this keen interest in community associations as an indication of the immigrant's desire to establish identity and find social support in an alien country. It is also an indicator of innovative behavior and desire for change. What may be worthwhile looking into however is an explanation for the apparent desire for stability and lack of risk-taking behavior among many in this group soon after they had settled down. There appears to be security in old experiences and the accentuation of old cultural traditions after the settling-down stage.

The lack of opportunity for face-to-face interaction (since most activities are done within the group context) has implications for family planning information programs. It has been hypothesized that lack of husband-wife communication positively correlates with high birth rate and lack of agreement on family size. Existing family interaction patterns may therefore inhibit acceptance of family planning. Because of poor communication (lack of such by-products of interaction such as "conflict", "consensus" and "feedback") between spouses, there may appear to be some difficulty in reaching couples as a unit in persuasive campaigns. The extent to which there are inter-generational differences (manifested in perceptions about family size, aspirations, etc.) is a relevant notion for future research. Another question worth exploring is the extent to which the "external" variables of modernity, seen in use of by-products of

technology, etc., interact and clash with the more stable traditional values. Some observations indicated that Waialua may be "transitional" in some respects and social change may be happening much more rapidly than has been assumed. The impact of urbanization is another question which may be worthwhile looking into. What does change mean to these people?

The study has focused on old and new immigrants and not on the second and third generation groups who have assimilated into the host culture much more rapidly and may not manifest any of the characteristics noted in this paper. The rise in the number of attendees at the family planning clinic has been noted and although the "snowballing" may not be dramatic as it is hoped to be, the trend does appear optimistic and does not in any way imply lack of innovativeness. The other correlates of fertility (low achievement need, low-risk taking) may have to be explored in relationship with other social and economic variables. This paper merely suggests questions instead of answering them.

ABSTRACT

Several social-psychological and cultural variables such as husband-wife interaction patterns, level of aspirations, time-orientation, degree of traditionalism/cosmopolitanism and perceptual outlook--all known to be correlates of family planning acceptance and family size norms--are examined in this study of a Filipino enclave in Waialua, Oahu, Hawaii. The study used unobtrusive and unstructured methods of observation, and suggests hypotheses for future family planning research. Background information on migration and adjustment patterns, vital statistics and other demographic data is included. Many of the characteristics of the "subculture of peasantry" are found to exist in this small plantation community.

APPENDIX A

Statistical Notes on the Filipino Population of Hawaii

1. Population of Waialua (1970) - 3,975[a]

   Haleiwa (1970) - 2,462

2. Age distribution of Male Population in Waialua, 1970[b]

Under 5	212
5 - 9	221
10 - 14	228
15 - 19	180
20 - 24	201
25 - 34	244
35 - 44	171
45 - 54	284
55 - 59	118
60 - 64	111
65 - 74	109
75 and over	37

Age distribution of Female Population in Waialua, 1970[b]

Under 5	189
5 - 9	203
10 - 14	186
15 - 19	173
20 - 24	172
25 - 34	240
35 - 44	253
45 - 54	244
55 - 59	70
60 - 64	55
65 - 74	41
75 and over	49

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[a]Source: State of Hawaii, Department of Planning and Economic Development, 1970.

[b]Source: Department of Information Systems, City and County of Honolulu, Waialua Division, General Population Characteristics, 1970 Census Data.

APPENDIX A *(continued)*

3. Marital Statistics[c]

Total male now married (excludes separated)	919
Total male widowed	90
Total male divorced	24
Total male separated	8
Total male never married	501
Total female now married (excludes separated)	905
Total female widowed	120
Total female divorced	20
Total female separated	9
Total female never married	117

4. Count of families by family type by presence of family members (other than head and wife) under 18 and 65 and over.[c]

Husband-wife family, no members under 18 or 65 and over	231
Husband-wife family, members under 18, none 65 and over	481
Husband-wife family, members under 18 and 65 and over	46

5. Filipino Population in Hawaii[d]

	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1966	1968
Population	2,361	21,031	63,052	52,569	53,391	56,252	58,043	61,900
No. of births				1,032	1,567	1,891	1,964	
Birth Rate				19.7	29.3	33.6	33.8	
No. of Deaths				298	303	431	498	
Death Rate				19	5.7	7.7	8.6	
Percent of total population in Hawaii	1.2	8.2	17.1	12.4	12.2	10.9		8.0

[c] Ibid

[d] Source: Schmitt, Robert C., Demographic Statistics of Hawaii, 1778-1965, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1968.

APPENDIX B

A research project for a course in intercultural communication by Carol Aquilizan at the University of Hawaii, in the nature of a follow-up study to the foregoing paper, reinforces some observations made earlier by the author. Here are excerpts from her report:

1. Conservatism and the desire for security: The resistance to change and the desire to settle down permanently in the Waialua area is clearly evident among the members of the Filipino group in Waialua. In reply to a question about Waialua's becoming a city at some future time, sample responses were:

> "No, because the people will not like the change; they are too set in their ways (a 21-year old housewife); "Waialua, a city? Never happen. Too much sugar cane. And without sugar cane, my father no work" (a 15-year old boy); "People are more traditional here.... They don't want to give up their old ways, so Waialua will stay the way it has been" (a 39-year old housewife); another respondent commented that her family would never move out of Waialua because they had lived there too long--"My family" (which includes her parents and in-laws) "have lived here for so long and we feel safe here."

2. Husband-wife roles: The assignment of roles to sons and daughters by the parents have affected husband-wife interaction patterns. A plantation worker, when asked what he thought his role as husband was, said: "To go out and work while my wife should stay at home."

3. Discrimination by other ethnic groups: Many of the immigrants, both old-established and recent, expressed the feeling of being discriminated against, as noted in some of the responses. This feeling may explain their lack of competitiveness and drive, as well as attitudes of passivity and deferential attitudes towards others, which have been labelled as "plantation mentality". If this feeling has caused them to feel alienated from the larger group in society, they may therefore be encouraged to seek larger families to provide them with a primary group in which they can find meaningful relationships.[11] Here are observations noted in the follow-up study:

> One housewife stated her husband was not given a payraise even though his qualifications were comparable with the rest who have been promoted.... A middle-aged Filipino said that most of those working in the irrigation department (one of the less desirable jobs) are Filipinos although many of them had more than 6 years of formal education.... An old-timer said that the Filipino has been stereotyped as being dishonest and not to be trusted.... A housewife stated that a certain lady doctor's appointment to the Police Commission did not come through because she was a Filipina.[12]

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[11] A hypothesis suggested by Hoffman and Wyatt (Rainwater, 1965).

[12] A Filipina physician was nominated by the mayor for this position, but was rejected by the appointing board for reasons of involvement in political campaigns in a previous election.

4. Lack of mass-media exposure and low empathy:

Lerner[13], in his study of the passing of a traditional society (1958), noted that these two factors--low exposure to mass media, and low empathy--tend to slow down the modernization process. In this follow-up study, the researcher notes:

> People living outside the mill area showed more cosmopolite behavior than the families living in the plantation camps. For instance, they make several trips to town every month, and often go to Waikiki for night-clubs and other forms of entertainment. They also subscribe to the daily newspapers and a monthly magazine; they are exposed to TV, radio and the movies.... Most of the people living near the mill do not get the daily newspapers or the magazines. Radio is the primary source of information; because of poor reception, very few watch TV. Most of them listen to Filipino radio programs, which are normally broadcast early in the morning or in the late afternoon, and most programs are broadcast in Ilocano.
>
> When asked what type of news interested them most, a respondent said: "News of the Philippines first, then news of Waialua." News of the local community is usually transmitted through The Sugar Scoop, published by the Waialua Sugar Company.
>
> Most families also showed signs of low empathy. A man in his sixties, when asked what he would do if he were president, responded: "That's a hard question for me; I cannot answer that. Why do you ask me?" Many respondents showed lack of

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[13]Lerner suggests that a person who cannot project himself into strange roles has low empathy.

> confidence in their ability to control the future; many felt that their lives were predetermined, that what would happen in the future was all up to Fate, or "luck".

5. Family Planning Attitudes: The lack of openness to new ideas has been shown to apply to the population studied. As noted in the main study, there was a slow rise in the number of acceptors when the Waialua family planning clinic first opened, but the increasing numbers later (brought about by notices in the shops, mothers' clubs and community discussion groups) reinforces the belief that mass media legitimize the introduction of a new idea. The follow-up study reports this observation:

> From a 21-year old housewife: "I would like to try the pill. I know my mother (who's 45) would not approve. She's afraid of anything new. They don't even take aspirins back home in the Philippine barrio where she comes from, so I know she would not take the pill. She has heard that it has some side-effects, that it causes cancer. My grandmother is the same. She is scared of any medicine that she is not sure of.
>
> "So my mother is pregnant again. After this, she would have a total of eight children. I asked her why she still wants to have another child since we are all grown up. She said: 'No can help if your father like'--to make love."

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